

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 PM-07 NSC-10 SS-15 RSC-01 L-03 CIAE-00

INR-10 NSAE-00 DODE-00 MC-02 ACDA-19 OMB-01 TRSE-00

PRS-01 EB-11 RSR-01 /094 W
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FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2753

INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

S E C R E T TEHRAN 4256

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MASS , IN, PK, IR, US

SUBJECT: ARMS SALES - THIRD COUNTRY ASSURANCES

REF: TEHRAN 1305 AND 3384; NEW DELHI 2463 AND 6907

1. SUMMARY: INDIAN CONCERNS ABOUT IRANIAN ARMS TRANSFERS TO PAKISTAN DO NOT SQUARE WITH FACTS. WE RECOMMEND THAT INSTEAD OF BRINGING THEIR PROBLEMS TO US INDIANS CONCENTRATE ON REASSURING SHAH THAT THEY ARE FULLY COMMITTED TO PAKISTAN'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. SHAH IS DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT PAKISTAN'S FUTURE AND UNLESS INDIANS CAN BE MORE REASSURING THAN THEY HAVE BEEN TO DATE THEY WILL ONLY DRIVE IRAN INTO CLOSER RELATIONSHIP WITH PAKISTAN, END SUMMARY.

2. ALTHOUGH INDIANS MAY TAKE MASOCHISTIC PLEASURE IN BELABORING QUESTION OF TRANSFER OF AMERICAN ARMS FROM IRAN TO PAKISTAN AND IN ATTEMPTING TO SCORE DEBATING POINTS WITH US, WE BELIEVE THERE MAY BE SOME MERIT IN SETTING FORTH A FEW FACTS THAT PERTAIN TO THIS ISSUE EVEN THOUGH IT MAY BE HARD FOR INDIANS TO DIGEST THEM.

3. FACTS ARE THESE:

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(A) US DID NOT RPT NOT APPROVE ANY TRANSFER OF US ORIGIN EQUIPMENT FROM IRAN TO PAKISTAN DURING 1971 WAR.
(B) IRAN DID HELP PAKISTAN IN 1971 BY PROVIDING (1) SANCTUARY FOR PIA FLEET; (2) LOCALLY MANUFACTURED FIRE-FIGHTING EQUIPMENT AND AMBULANCES FOR USE IN KARACHI;
(3) LOCALLY MANUFACTURED 105 MM ARTILLERY AMMUNITION AND SOME SMALL ARMS AMMUNITION; AND (4) LOAN OF SEVERAL HELICOPTERS MANNED BY IRANIAN CREWS (TEHRAN 3384). THIS CAN HARDLY BE CALLED EXCESSIVE OR A THREAT TO INDIA.

4. IRAN IS NOW CONSIDERING SALE OF SEVERAL SURPLUS C-130 S TO PAKISTAN AND WE ARE CONSIDERING MATTER. IN SPITE OF IRAN'S CLOSE TIES WITH PAKISTAN THESE C-130 S WILL NOT BE CHEAP IF TRANSACTION IS COMPLETED.

5. THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS "IRANIAN ARMS AGREEMENT" MENTIONED IN PARA 8 OF NEW DELHI 6907. AT LEAST SINCE 1968 WHEN WE DISCONTINUED OUR MILITARY AND ECONOMIC AID PROGRAMS IN IRAN, IRAN HAS BEEN PURCHASING MILITARY EQUIPMENT FROM US AND FROM OTHER COUNTRIES, INCLUDING BRITISH, FRENCH, SWISS, ISRAELIS AND SOVIETS, AND IN LAST TWO YEARS IRAN HAS STEPPED UP ITS ORDERS FOR US MILITARY EQUIPMENT SUBSTANTIALLY. DELIVERIES WILL BE MADE OVER NEXT FIVE YEARS AS EQUIPMENT COMES ON STREAM, IRANIAN PERSONNEL ARE TRAINED, ETC. POINT HERE IS THAT THERE IS NO SPECIAL ARMS PACKAGE RECENTLY AGREED TO AND NO SUDDEN INCREASE IN IRANIAN ARMS INVENTORY. INDIANS SEEM TO BE WORRYING ABOUT EQUIPMENT MUCH OF WHICH WILL NOT BE HERE FOR SEVERAL YEARS.

6. USG HAS NO CONTROL WHATSOEVER AND VERY LITTLE INFLUENCE ON SHAH'S DECISIONS REGARDING MILITARY PROCUREMENT. ONLY WAY TO CURTAIL PURCHASES IS BY DENYING US COMPANIES RIGHT TO SELL TO IRAN. SHAH MAKES HIS OWN DECISIONS IN LIGHT OF WHAT HE CONSIDERS TO BE IRAN'S SECURITY REQUIREMENTS AND THERE IS NO QUESTION IN OUR MIND THAT IF WE DID NOT SELL TO HIM, HE WOULD TURN TO MANY CLAMORING ARMS MERCHANTS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES WHO DAILY BEAT ON IRANIAN DOOR. IN FACT, SOVIETS ARE EAGER TO REPLACE US AS IRAN'S MAJOR MILITARY SUPPLIER. AS APPROPRIATE, WE URGE RESTRAINT IN ARMS PROCUREMENT IN CONTRAST TO
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COMMERCIAL REPRESENTATIVES FROM OTHER COUNTRIES WHO ARE ACTIVE IN TRYING TO GET PIECE OF MILITARY ACTION.

7. WE CONCLUDE FROM ALL THIS THAT INDIANS, WHO WE RECOGNIZE ARE HIGHLY IRRATIONAL ON ANYTHING INVOLVING PAKISTAN, HAVE EXAGGERATED NOTIONS OF THE DANGERS TO INDIA OF TRANS-

FER OF ARMS FROM IRAN TO PAKISTAN. THERE MAY BE MERIT IN
RESTATING OUR POLICY ON TRANSFER OF AMERICAN ARMS TO THIRD
COUNTRIES AS AMBASSADOR MOYNIHAN SUGGESTS IN PARA 10
OF NEW DELHI'S 6907, BUT ONCE THIS IS DONE WE WOULD
AGAIN URGE THAT WE SPEAK WITH ONE VOICE IN DELHI AND
TEHRAN TO OUR INDIAN AND IRANIAN FRIENDS AND SUGGEST
TO THEM THAT THEY TALK TO EACH OTHER ON THIS QUESTION
AND NOT THROUGH US. INDIAN EMBASS HAS NOT RECENTLY
RAISED SUBJECT WITH US AND HAS NOT BEATEN PATH TO MFA
TO EXPRESS INDIA'S APPARENT WORRIES. IF INDIANS ARE
AS TROUBLED AS NEW DELHI 6907 SUGGESTS, TEHRAN IS
WHERE THEY SHOULD REGISTER THEIR CONCERNS. IT IS ALSO
UP TO INDIANS TO DISPEL IRANIAN MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT
INDIAN POLICY TOWARDS PAKISTAN AND ITS TERRITORIAL IN-
TEGRITY, AND THEY COULD WITH PROFIT ENGAGE IN DIPLOMATIC
INITIATIVES WITH IRAN BECAUSE SHAH IS DEEPLY CONCERNED
ABOUT PAKISTAN'S INTEGRITY. AFTER ALL, IRAN IS ACQUIR-
ING CONSIDERABLE NON-US EQUIPMENT, E. G. 700 BRITISH
CHIEFTAIN TANKS, AND IF INDIA IS TROUBLED ABOUT IRAN'S
RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN, IT IS UP TO INDIA, NOT US, TO
CONVINCE SHAH THAT INDIA HARBORS NO AGGRESSIVE DESIGNS
AGAINST PAKISTAN AND IS COMMITTED TO PAKISTAN'S TERRI-
TORIAL INTEGRITY AND THEREFORE SEES NO REASON WHY IRAN
NEED STRENGTHEN PAKISTAN. WE CANNOT EMPHASIZE THIS TOO
STRONGLY BECAUSE IF INDIANS ARE UPTIGHT ABOUT IRAN'S
RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN, IT IS EQUALLY ARTICLE OF FAITH
WITH SHAH THAT PAKISTAN MUST NOT FALL APART. IF
INDIANS LEAVE SHAH IN DOUBT ABOUT THEIR INTENTIONS
TOWARDS PAKISTAN, RESULT WILL BE TO PUSH IRAN INTO
EVEN CLOSER RELATIONSHIP WITH PAKISTAN.

8. FOR OUR PART WE WILL CONTINUE TO HAMMER AWAY AT
LINE RECOMMENDED IN TEHRAN'S 1305 AS ENDORSED BY
DELHI IN ITS 2463.

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